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FOREIGN RADIO AND PRESS REACTION TO
PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S 22 OCTOBER SPEECH ON CUBA

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Foreign Broadcast Information Service

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Press comment derives mainly from radio sources. In the interest of brevity, newspapers are sometimes cited directly.

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

Summary

Soviet media kept silent on the President's speech for eight hours and withheld detailed reportage on its substance until 13 and a half hours after the President spoke. The detailed report--transmitted by TASS to foreign recipients--was followed within a half hour by the release of the 2,000-word Soviet Government statement, which has set the tone for the flood of followup propaganda including editorials in PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA, and RED STAR. The government statement, using more measured language than the much longer 11 September TASS statement on Cuba, builds up the Soviet case for presentation of the issue to the United Nations and is carefully noncommittal as to specific counteraction. Significantly absent is any acknowledgement--and hence any denial--of the President's statements about Soviet construction of missile sites. The statement confines itself to the usual generalities in denying that Soviet military aid to Cuba serves other than purely defensive purposes. Soviet commentators follow suit in generally avoiding specific address to the question of missile sites, and in avoiding specification of how the USSR will respond to the quarantine. TASS director Goryunov's statement in Japan (reported by Western news media) that the USSR will sink U.S. ships if Soviet ships are attacked has not been acknowledged by Moscow.

A "wave of protest meetings rolling over the USSR" is widely publicized by Radio Moscow and Soviet regional radios. The pledges voiced at the meetings are for the most part couched in generalities about "labor efforts for the sake of strengthening the economic and defense might" of the USSR--the language of the concluding paragraph of the Soviet Government statement. But Black Sea sailors are quoted by the Kiev radio as pledging to carry out the tasks given them by the government and people "in regard to transporting cargo to revolutionary Cuba," and one Soviet worker is quoted as saying that "at any moment we can change our caps for military ones." RED STAR's editorial, entitled "We Are On Guard," is reported to Soviet domestic audiences and accompanied by photographs of "strategic rockets taking off." And Soviet as well as foreign audiences hear a statement attributed to Vice President Johnson that a naval blockade could touch off World War III. The propaganda continues, however, to emphasize the effectiveness of Soviet deterrent power, the new "balance of forces" favoring the bloc, and Soviet readiness to abide by U.N. principles and do everything possible to preserve peace.

Satellite comment, including official statements from Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria, echo Moscow in ridiculing the notion that Cuba poses a threat, warning that U.S. behavior courts war, and appealing to the world to condemn the United States. Satellite commentators, unlike Moscow, address themselves specifically to the President's statements about

Soviet missile sites, but in impugning the veracity of these statements they stop short of unequivocal denial. Peking waited 17 hours to report the President's speech. NCNA has transmitted abroad the text of the Soviet Government statement, but there is no comment on the statement in CPR media. NCNA's long account of a PEOPLE'S DAILY editorial on the President's speech refers to support for Cuba from "all the socialist countries," and specifically the 650 million people of China, never once mentioning the USSR.

Havana broadcasts urge the Cuban people to remain "serene and tranquil" in the face of a new threat to their freedom, assuring them repeatedly that they "are not alone." A Gallup Poll is cited frequently as evidence that the President does not have the backing of the American people; and support for the Castro regime voiced by leftist organs in Latin America is played up heavily. Following the troop mobilization in Cuba and publicity for the Cuban demarche in the U.N. Security Council, Fidel Castro's long speech is carried both in Havana's domestic service and in broadcasts beamed to the other American states. Castro disputes the U.S. definition of offensive as opposed to defensive weapons, but emphatically refuses to allow observers from the United Nations to visit Cuba. Castro and Cuban commentators, like Moscow, are careful to avoid specific denials of the President's statements about the missile sites.

Available Yugoslav comment takes the position that the U.S. decision gave little choice to the OAS and that the quarantine on Cuba is a "flagrant violation" of both international law and the U.N. Charter. President Tito himself expresses concern over the possibility of a world conflict and urges that a peaceful solution to the problem be sought through United Nations mediation.

The President's speech and the measures planned to remove the Cuban threat to the hemisphere met with sympathy and understanding throughout Latin America. The consensus was that the forthright initiative taken by the President was necessary and timely. At the same time there was a prevailing undercurrent of concern that the inevitable clash between Moscow and Washington might go beyond words and present dangers to world peace. The general approval accorded Washington's actions was frequently accompanied by intimations that aid, military or otherwise, would be made available should the showdown go beyond the phase of sparring at the diplomatic level or at the United Nations.

West European radio and press comment reflects the widely diversified opinions of various independent groups. For the most part, the response has been a favorable one, mirroring the conviction that further temporizing in the Cuban affair would have threatened free world institutions. Initial British comment, however, included frequent expressions of dismay that the world was threatened with a nuclear war over such a comparatively localized problem. Some elements of the French press demonstrated pique that such weighty steps had been decided on without preliminary discussion with the French Government.

West German support was unconditional and enthusiastic. The firm conviction that the United States would maintain a strong stand on West Berlin was sometimes mentioned as a factor in Bonn's unequivocal stand on the side of the United States. The Scandinavian press was mixed in its reaction, with expressions of sympathy mingled with notes of concern at the possibility of a major war.

Middle East press and radio sources, led by Cairo, give extensive play to the developments with emphasis on the inherent threat to world peace. The Egyptian press is highly critical of this latest skirmish between the great powers which places all countries, large and small, in jeopardy. While there is some understanding of American concern, there is a parallel recognition of the danger to the sovereignty of small nations in decisions implying the use of force. The Iraqi radio, reflecting the communist point of view, assails the United States action as imperialistic, but expresses hope that the United Nations will be capable of holding the Americans in check. Countries oriented toward the West generally interlard expressions of sympathy and understanding with concern over the eventual outcome. In the Far East, Nationalist China, South Korea, and Australia approve the American initiative without qualification; Nationalist China thought even more direct military action against Cuba would be appropriate. Japanese comment ranges from approval tinged with concern over the outcome to criticism of the alleged affront to Cuban sovereignty. Regret that a world conflict should be threatened over a localized problem is a common denominator of most press opinion.

I. SINO-SOVIET BLOC

A. USSR

The first reaction to the President's speech in Soviet broadcast media came six hours after the speech was delivered, in a brief domestic service news item not acknowledging that the President had spoken but quoting AFP for the report that an emergency OAS meeting was being called "in connection with new aggressive U.S. actions against Cuba." The broadcast mentioned U.S. moves to strengthen Guantanamo and reported the mobilization of Cuban troops in view of "the new U.S. provocations."

The first monitored Radio Moscow mention of the speech came two hours later, at 0700 GMT. Providing no details, this news item simply reported that the President spoke and went on to cite "some observers in New York" as believing that the United States "stands on the threshold of direct military action against Cuba." At 1130 GMT, TASS reported the speech very briefly, characterizing it as "abounding in crude anti-Soviet attacks." At 1230, TASS came out with its first detailed summary of the substance, including the first Soviet reference to the President's "allegation that a whole series of launching sites is being prepared in Cuba." TASS impugned the veracity of the "allegation" but did not deny it unequivocally in stating that to justify the quarantine, the President referred to a "mythical concentration of communist rockets" in Cuba and "did not hesitate to absolutely distort facts and openly intimidate the American people and the peoples of Latin America with nonexistent threats."

It was a half hour after that, 14 hours after the President spoke, that TASS released the official Soviet response which has set the tone for the flood of subsequent propaganda. The 2,000-word Soviet Government statement is carefully noncommittal as to specific Soviet counter-action. Only half the length of the diffuse TASS statement of 11 September which had responded to the President's request for authority to call up 150,000 reservists, the present statement is far more measured in language. It reiterates, though with less verbiage, some of the major elements of the 11 September document--ridicule of the notion that Cuba threatens the United States, insistence that Soviet military aid to Cuba is legitimate and purely defensive, warnings that U.S. behavior courts nuclear war, and portrayal of Soviet nuclear-rocket capability as an effective and presently operating deterrent force. But where the 11 September statement had contained a broadly ranging, detailed assault on U.S. "aggressiveness" worldwide, enumerating the countries in which the United States has overseas bases and recalling the U-2 flight over Sakhalin, the present one compresses such charges into a single more generalized paragraph following a plea for withdrawal of all troops and military equipment from foreign soil and liquidation of foreign bases.

Absent from the statement is any acknowledgment--and hence any direct denial--of the President's specification of the nature of the new Soviet missile sites in Cuba. Nor is there any repetition in the statement of the argument used in the 11 September document that the power of Soviet rockets is such as to obviate the need for missile sites on foreign territory.

Building up the Soviet case for presentation in the United Nations, the statement mentions the United Nations, in one way or another, eight times. Four of these are references to the U.N. Charter, including an avowal of Soviet adherence to the Charter and a reminder of Cuban President Dorticos' UNGA speech avowing Cuban readiness to settle differences with the United States through negotiations.

The statement of Soviet intent to request Security Council consideration of U.S. "violation of the U.N. Charter and threat to peace" is the most specific notification of intended Soviet action. Otherwise the Soviet Union serves notice of its intentions in generalities: "Naturally, no state which values its independence" can accede to a demand for removal of military equipment "needed for self-defense"; the USSR will strike a retaliatory blow "if the aggressors touch off a war"; and the USSR will "do everything in its power to thwart the aggressive designs of the U.S. imperialist circles, to safeguard and consolidate peace."

In reacting specifically to the measures to intercept ships on the high seas, the statement calls the U.S. course of action not aggression but "piracy," "provocation," a violation of international law, and a "challenge to all peace-loving nations." The nature of the Soviet response is not spelled out, beyond the statement that the USSR "resolutely rejects" claims that the United States has the right to demand that states report to it on what they carry in their ships.

An unscheduled news bulletin in the domestic service, broadcast just after the release of the government statement, reported that a mass meeting of workers in a Moscow plant heard the statement and expressed their solidarity with the Soviet Government's stand. The broadcast said they pledged to increase "their labor efforts for the sake of strengthening the economic and defense might of our homeland"--echoing the concluding paragraph of the government statement. This was the first of what Moscow has called a "wave" of workers' protest meetings "rolling over the USSR." Soviet regional stations, including Kiev, Tbilisi, Rostov, Stavropol, Alma Ata, and Dnepropetrovsk, have broadcast the government statement and publicized meetings of support. Ukrainian stations have been reporting protest meetings and broadcasting interviews with individuals, and Kiev devoted an unscheduled news program entirely to Cuban events. Yerevan radio has given the subject heavy coverage. Moldavian regional stations quote workers as pledging to increase their labor efforts to strengthen the

"defensive might" of the USSR--in this instance specifying defense only and not mentioning economic strength.

The regional radio accounts play up "unanimous support" for the Soviet stand and "indignant protests" at the "aggressive" American action. Workers express hope for peace to enable them to build a "just community" and a future for their children, calling for "hands off Cuba" and pledging support to the "heroic Cuban peoples" who are "not threatening anyone." The pledges are for the most part couched in very general terms. But a Lutsk worker is quoted as saying that "those at the Pentagon should know that while we are keeping our powder dry, at any moment we can change our caps for military ones"; and Black Sea sailors, according to the Kiev radio, have pledged to carry out the tasks given them by the Soviet Government and people "in regard to transporting cargo to revolutionary Cuba." Workers' meetings had been publicized in Soviet domestic media following the 11 September TASS statement as well, but not as widely as the present ones.

Radio Volga, broadcasting via East Berlin to the Soviet forces in Germany, reports that soldiers of the group of forces in Germany declared they "will honorably carry out the order of the USSR Council of Ministers" given by Soviet Defense Minister Malinovskiy. A similar reaction had been reported by Radio Volga following the 11 September TASS statement, which had noted that Malinovskiy and the Soviet Army command had orders to raise the armed forces to "peak military preparedness."

Within a half hour of the release of the government statement, the Moscow domestic service reported that ambassadors of "the socialist states" were asked to call on Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Kuznetsov. Domestic audiences were also told that "in connection with the provocative actions of the U.S. Government," the Soviet Government heard a report by Defense Minister Malinovskiy on measures introduced to increase the combat readiness of the armed forces and gave him "the required instructions," including delay of routine demobilization and cancellation of the leaves of all personnel. TASS reported that Warsaw Pact military chiefs were summoned by Pact commander in chief Marshal Grechko and given orders to increase military preparedness.

At this writing Moscow has broadcast the Soviet Government statement some 90 times in programs beamed around the world. Total comment on the President's speech and the Soviet reaction--including the rebroadcasts of the statement and broadcasts to foreign and domestic audiences of followup commentary--amounts so far to some 190 items. PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA, and RED STAR have all carried editorials supporting the government statement--and all three have been reported

to Soviet domestic audiences. The review of the Soviet central press broadcast to domestic listeners on 24 October leads off with a summary of the RED STAR editorial, entitled "We Are On Guard" and emphasizing, according to the press review, that "the troops of our army and navy warmly approve the new Soviet measures for strengthening the security of our country." The paper published under the editorial photographs picturing strategic rockets taking off and an antiaircraft rocket at the moment of its thrust.

The great bulk of the Moscow comment, however, echoes the Soviet Government statement and pictures the crisis more in terms of a U.S.-Cuban than a U.S.-Soviet dispute. PRAVDA's editorial speaks of the "special responsibility" that rests with the United Nations, "which is facing another and most serious test." References to the Soviet Union's "peace policy" repeatedly note that this policy is in accord with "U.N. principles." In publicizing the Security Council meeting on the evening of 23 October, Moscow brushes off Ambassador Stevenson's speech as a "tedious rehash of snopworn forgeries about the aggressive nature of communism," devoid of even a single argument "of any weight" to justify "U.S. aggression" against Cuba. The Cuban delegate's speech, treated at greater length, is characterized as "fiery and moving." And Zorin's speech is recapitulated at length, with stress on his remarks concerning the "falsity" of the U.S. position.

Commentators continue to avoid any denial of the President's specific charges about the construction of missile sites, speaking in general terms of U.S. "falsehoods" and "hypocrisy" and reiterating--as in the Soviet Government statement--generalized descriptions of the "purely defensive" nature of Soviet military aid to Cuba, requested by Cuba to protect itself against "threats." IZVESTIYA's editorial, like other comment, repeats that the question of Cuban security and defense is a matter of "the exclusive jurisdiction of Cuba itself."

There are repeated echoes of the Soviet Government's warning of a Soviet retaliatory blow if war is unleashed--and the notion that the present situation courts thermonuclear war is conveyed in broadcasts to domestic as well as foreign audiences. In this context wide use is made in Moscow broadcasts, including comment for domestic audiences, of a statement attributed to Vice President Johnson that a blockade could lead to World War III. At the same time, the comment continues to play on the theme of Soviet deterrent strength and to insist that "the balance of forces has shifted in favor of the socialist countries." IZVESTIYA's editorial says the American "adventurists" are so blinded by hatred of Cuba that "they forget what century they are living in." The "ravings" of these people, the editorial says, will be answered by the Soviet people "with further consolidation around the ranks of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government," and "imperialist

aggression will not prevent us from continuing to fulfill our great international duty of support and aid to peoples defending their freedom and independence."

The propaganda remains equivocal in regard to the Soviet response to the quarantine measures, with most comment simply denouncing the measures as a violation of international law undertaken with "provocative" intent. Soviet media have not mentioned TASS President Goryunov's statement in Japan (reported by AFP and widely publicized in the West) that should the United States attack Soviet ships, "Soviet Russia will sink American ships." The President's signing of the declaration formalizing the measures was reported briefly by TASS in English shortly after the signing and five hours later in TASS transmissions in Russian for domestic consumption. Withholding any statement of how the Soviet Union might behave if one of its ships is stopped, Moscow commentators introduce the notion that the U.S. move sets a precedent which--in the words of one commentator--"would lead to more than an intensification of tension in the world." This commentator, broadcasting in Arabic on 23 October, says "we may conclude that the Soviet Union could now stop and inspect all ships going to Turkey, for example."

A microcosm of the general Soviet propaganda line is contained in a special appeal "to the people of New York and San Francisco, Detroit and Des Moines, to the Pittsburgh steel smelter, the New Orleans longshoreman, the California farmer, the Oklahoma rancher, and the Harvard student," broadcast by Radio Moscow to North America on the 24th. The appeal warns that "the flames of war may sweep in from the Caribbean and engulf your home too," and then it will be too late to stop and think. It harps on the absurdity of the notion that Cuba, with a population of less than New York City, threatens the United States. It says the USSR "has no bases anywhere in the world," having closed down the last one in 1955. It insists that it is not the Cuban Government which is carrying on subversive activities, not Cuba which does not wish to be a good neighbor. And it repeats charges of the illegality of a blockade, assurances that the Soviet Government will never use its weapons for aggression, and the warning that the United States will assume a "grave responsibility" if it carries out the actions announced by the President.

B. East European Satellites

Satellite transmitters stress the "danger" and "recklessness" of the U.S. measures. While Moscow commentators for the most part avoid specific address to the President's statements about Soviet construction of medium-range and intercontinental missile bases in Cuba, satellite radios widely brand these statements "absurd" and "provocative"--a "pretext" for efforts to liquidate the Castro regime.

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Commentator Karl Friedrich Reinhardt, in a talk over the East Berlin domestic service, comes close to a flat denial by referring to the "invented new statement that the Soviet Union has installed long-range missiles for offensive nuclear rockets in Cuba." But the commentator hedges by quoting McGeorge Bundy as his authority for stating that the terms "offensive and defensive are misleading; whether a rifle is offensive or defensive depends on what one is after, what one has in mind." Reinhardt goes on to say that the weapons the USSR has delivered to Cuba are similar to military assistance given to such neutrals at the UAR and Indonesia, and can be compared with the U.S. Nike or Matador, with a "range of about 10 to 15 miles."

East European transmitters unanimously endorse the Soviet "warning" to the United States, express solidarity with the Cuban people, and warn that the United States must bear full responsibility for the possible "grave consequences" of its action. The naval quarantine of Cuba, referred to most frequently as a "blockade," is described as an open violation of international law, naked aggression against Cuba, and a serious threat to world peace and security.

Czechoslovakia was the first East European communist country to report the President's speech. Prague announced the blockade and explained that "Kennedy tried to defend his position by the clumsy assertion that Soviet launching bases for medium-range rockets are under construction in Cuba." The broadcast declared that this "slander" has already been suitably answered, recalling the USSR's statement that it has no need for such bases because of its own "reliable intercontinental rockets." Other East European radios use the same argument.

Czechoslovak comment is highlighted by a government statement which characterizes the quarantine as an "openly aggressive act" and a "piratical action" in open preparation for the unleashing of a general conflict. A RUDE PRAVO article says the President is returning to the "notorious policy of brinkmanship" with a "boldness surpassing that of all of his predecessors." Other satellite commentators frequently refer to John Foster Dulles and the policy of brinkmanship and declare that the President's failure to gain his ends through resort to a "positions of strength" policy will come much sooner than did that of Dulles. Prague's government statement declares that "the time has irrevocably passed when the U.S. imperialists, relying on their military power, could dictate their will to freedom-loving nations without punishment." The statement adds that the Czechoslovak Government "rightly expects" that the U.S. Government will in time realize the danger of playing with fire and will revoke or delay its measures against Cuba.

East Germany seems to take the lead among the satellites in volume of comment. GDR commentators describe as "laughable" the notion that Cuba is a threat to U.S. security and declare that the existence of U.S. bases all over the world "unmasks Kennedy's fine reasons for his act of aggression as downright ludicrous." Calling for a worldwide protest against the U.S. blockade to "force the United States to desist from its dangerous course," East Berlin broadcasts give considerable attention to reports of adverse reaction abroad, especially in nations allied with the United States. East European radios generally play up demonstrations in Britain and other Western countries opposing the U.S. action; and the quasiclandestine communist radio "Oggi in Italia" says that Italian Premier Fanfani "in an elaborate and embarrassed way declares his solidarity" with U.S. leaders, but is "certainly far from interpreting the feelings and traditions of the Italian people."

East Berlin reports promptly that the Bonn Government has endorsed the U.S. action and remarks frequently thereafter that "only Bonn" has offered full support to the U.S. aggressors, and less frequently refers to the "isolation" of the United States in its attitude toward Cuba. Adolph Herlitzka, on the East Berlin domestic service, suggests that the "monstrous deployment of troops and naval forces" is addressed not really to Cuba but rather to the other Latin American countries, "some of which are very much in sympathy with Cuba."

The satellite radios ignore the OAS meeting of 23 October and its virtually unanimous endorsement of the American measures. (Moscow has noted briefly that the United States "forced through" the resolution giving the OAS council the powers of a provisional consultative organ.) The East German ADN reports under a Havana date-line on 23 October that "Latin America is standing at the rim of a volcano about to erupt, against which Kennedy's blockade will prove to be powerless."

Poland's heavy coverage emphasizes unfavorable world reaction, with special attention to opposition in Britain. One domestic commentary says the speech "aroused serious doubts" in London, and another claims that a majority of British papers "negatively appraised" the Kennedy speech.

Bulgaria, like Czechoslovakia, issued a government statement on the issue accusing the United States of "gross violation of international law and the principles of the U.N. Charter." A Sofia broadcast in Greek says that the "artificial war hysteria" created by the President's statement is possibly for election campaign reasons, although it could lead the world to the abyss of nuclear destruction. (An isolated Prague commentary similarly suggests that the President has sought only propaganda and political gains.)

AC

Rumania and Albania were slow to report the President's speech, both transmitters remaining silent on the development for 15 hours. Both limited their first broadcasts to reportage, with editorial comment interjected. Comment from Hungary is also limited so far. One Budapest broadcast, in Arabic, asserts that the U.S. action has removed the cold war campaign from the realm of mere "verbal exchanges" and has turned it into "a real hell, namely war." President Kennedy's action, the commentary says, violates international law and brings the world "to the brink of an abyss."

C. Far East Communist Countries

Peking made no mention of the Cuban crisis until nearly 14 hours after President Kennedy's speech, when a domestic service broadcast reported the mobilization of Cuba's armed forces. The broadcast said nothing about the President's speech or the measures he announced. An NCNA dispatch a short time later, in the same vein, created the impression that the United States was preparing for an attack on Cuba and that the Cuban people were making a heroic effort to repulse an invasion. This picture was reinforced in Radio Peking's first report on the President's speech--17 hours after it was made--and his announcement of quarantine measures. Ignoring the stated reasons for this action, Peking went on to cite a statement by a U.S. Defense Department spokesman on measures to enforce the blockade, and reported the deployment of "large numbers" of naval and air units to the Caribbean area "in the last few days."

When Peking finally referred to the President's statement about the missile sites--in a later NCNA report--it provided a much more explicit account than was contained in Soviet media: President Kennedy, NCNA said, used as a "pretext" for the blockade a claim that "a series of offensive missile sites is now in preparation" by the Soviet Union in Cuba "to provide a nuclear strike capacity against the Western hemisphere." NCNA added that "in complete disregard of the fact that the United States is committing aggression against Cuba," the President "alleged that Cuba is being 'transformed into an important strategic base' which 'constitutes a direct threat to the peace and security of all the Americas.'"

A PEOPLE'S DAILY editorial, reviewed by NCNA, calls the "U.S. accusation that Cuba has received so-called offensive military equipment" a "despicable pretext" for U.S. intervention in Cuba. The paper charges the United States with "preparing direct military intervention" as well as "flagrant piracy" violating "the most elementary rules governing international relations." Pledging the support of "the entire socialist camp," the editorial says the Chinese people "have always stood staunchly on the side of the Cuban people."

NCNA has transmitted the text of the Soviet statement, but there has been no comment on it from CFR sources. NCNA's long account of the PEOPLE'S DAILY editorial does not once mention the Soviet Union.

In other Far East communist comment, a Pyongyang domestic broadcast ridicules the President's "noisy assertion that Soviet attack missile bases are being built in Cuba." The Ulan Bator news agency MONISAME charges that President Kennedy used "bedraggled anticommunist methods," attempting to depict the threat as proceeding from the USSR and "maliciously asserting" that Cuba has been transformed into an "important strategic base" of the Soviet Union. A Hanoi broadcast describes the blockade and related "naval mobilization" as "serious violations of international law and Cuban sovereignty," and cites the Soviet statement as warning the United States it must bear full responsibility for the consequences.

Radio Pathet Lao announces a "complete blockade of Cuba" by the United States and says that the President took this action, "ignoring world criticism," following conferences with his advisors. This broadcast ignores the reasons for the action entirely.

D. Cuba

First reaction to President Kennedy's address monitored from Havana media was a talk by regular commentator Luis Gomez Wanguemert on television just an hour and a half after the President's speech. Wanguemert urged the Cuban people to "remain serene and tranquil," continue with their work, and rest assured that the Castro regime will take the proper steps. Calling the moves announced by the President further evidence of the "irresponsibility" of the U.S. Government, he suggested that President Kennedy had not been convinced of the seriousness of the Soviet warning regarding aggression against Cuba.

Wanguemert concluded his commentary by reminding the Cuban people that they are "not alone." This is a phrase used frequently by Cuban commentators, as well as those in other Communist nations, to show that the Castro regime has the full support of "the Soviet Union, the entire socialist bloc, and other peaceful and friendly peoples." However, Wanguemert in this case apparently was also trying to convince the Cuban people that they have the sympathy of the common people of all Latin American nations and of the United States. He referred to the Gallup Poll report that 75 percent of the American people voiced opposition to military action against Cuba, and also objected to President Kennedy's reference to the threat to Mexico City, "capital of a country that has always been our friend."

Much Cuban comment since the President's speech has cited the Gallup Poll to document assurances that the American people do not support the

action taken by their government. PRENSA LATINA dispatches from several Latin American nations are devoted almost entirely to quotations from leftwing newspapers and organizations showing opposition to the U.S. measures. The first broadcast on developments to appear in Havana's international service to the Americas, four and a half hours after the President's talk, again points to the Gallup Poll in an effort to show that the President does not have the support of his own people. This broadcast calls the quarantine on Cuba an "act of war."

Among Latin American nations in which PRENSA LATINA found support for Castro are Uruguay, Brazil, Colombia, and Chile. Earliest dispatches from Montevideo consisted of quotations from EPOCA and other leftwing Uruguayan newspapers and organizations denouncing the "stupidity" and "madness" of President Kennedy's action, and declared that "Cuba is not alone, nor will it be conquered." According to PRENSA LATINA, the Uruguayan Socialist Party Executive Committee held a hurried meeting immediately after President Kennedy's talk and issued a call to all socialist parties in all Latin American countries to join in a "blockade of all U.S. interests in Latin America."

Reporting from Santiago, Chile, early on 24 October, PRENSA LATINA says that the Chilean Popular Action Front has called upon all workers, peasants, students, women, youths, and so forth, to "combat the insane U.S. determination against Cuba." The statement adds that one principal aim of the U.S. Government is to "frighten Latin American countries and stop the development of national freedom movements in each of them." So far there has been no monitored report from the Havana radio giving the results of the OAS meeting of 23 October, though regular commentator Kuchilan, speaking on television while the meeting was in progress, said the calling of the meeting showed the cowardice of President Kennedy, who wanted to get the OAS to back up his unilateral action. However, Kuchilan added, Bolivia and Cuba will not be there, and "we hope" that Mexico, Chile, and Brazil will hold to their independent posture."

Kuchilan also declared in this commentary that President Kennedy had gone beyond his powers in calling for a naval blockade of Cuba. Congress gave him power, the commentator said, to call up 150,000 men, but not to take this step, which is an "act of war." Challenging Kennedy's use of the term "quarantine," Kuchilan stated that the action is known internationally as a "blockade," and is an act of war. "The United States has officially declared war on us," he said, "a war which it has been waging against us without a halt since 1959."

Within a few hours after the President's speech Radio Havana announced that the Cuban armed forces had been mobilized and ordered to assume a position of combat readiness; that Premier Castro would address the nation; and that the Cuban Government had called upon the U.N. Security Council to take action to halt U.S. aggression against Cuba.

Castro's speech came in the form of a radio interview on the Havana service to the Americas at 0135 GMT on 24 October, as well as on the domestic service. A large part of the interview was given to documentation of U.S. aggression against Cuba. However, Castro also attempted to answer various U.S. charges, including the one that the Cuban revolution was "betrayed." If that had been true, according to Castro, Cuba would now be a great friend of the imperialist United States.

Concerning the Rio Treaty, Castro declared that it has no application to Cuba. "What do we care about treaties?" was his response to action taken by the OAS under terms of the Rio Treaty. Castro denied that there was any danger of aggression against the American continent from Cuba, but he avoided saying specifically that President Kennedy's charges concerning rocket bases were untrue. Instead he ridiculed the distinction between "offensive" and "defensive" weapons, saying that these terms had been "invented" by the imperialists. As for the landing of observers to Cuba, Castro declared: "We decidedly reject any attempt at supervision, any attempt at inspection of our country. Our country will not be subjected to inspection from any quarter. Our country will never be inspected by anyone because we will never give authorization for that to anyone no one can come under the U.N. banner or any other flag to inspect our country. . . . Anyone who tries to come and inspect Cuba must know that he will have to come equipped for war."

Castro's avoidance of the issue of whether or not President Kennedy's information is accurate is consistent with earlier Radio Havana statements. Wanguemert referred to the "nonexistent danger" discussed by President Kennedy, and spoke of the "alleged medium-range rockets," but did not actually deny the presence of medium-range and intercontinental missile bases, nor has any other Cuban commentator.

III. YUGOSLAVIA

The Belgrade radio carries a commentary by Editor Gradimir Marinkovic who declares that the U.S. decision leads to a contest of force of the two biggest world powers. It will be "psychological in the first place, but if one of them loses its nerve it will turn into a warlike one." He says that President Kennedy's statement clearly defined U.S. policy toward Cuba, and it "does not give much choice to the partners in the Organization of American States," who have to decide "for one side or the other," but the "self-confidence with which the motions are proposed in this organization obviously excludes the possibility of a negative attitude." Marinkovic cites as "the most important point for the moment" Kennedy's warning to the Soviet Union that the United States will not shrink from the prospect of using force. This, he says, may have "unforeseeable and irretrievable consequences."

A Milka Sundic commentary carried by Radio Zagreb describes the U.S. measures against Cuba as a "flagrant violation of international law and the U.N. Charter." He says that whether Cuba already possesses offensive weapons or whether "the whole story has been invented," the fact remains that an independent country "is fully entitled to have weapons but has no right to make use of these weapons unless it is attacked."

Boris Kicevic's report from Moscow, carried by Radio Belgrade, notes the "polemical history" of the Cuban dispute in the Soviet Government statement and says Soviet political circles believe that what happens next depends on how the United States "will accept and interpret" the Soviet statement. TANYUG reports that many Asian and African delegates at the United Nations point out that the American move and the justifications offered for it "could hardly stand comparison with the fact that NATO countries have organized a whole chain of rocket bases along the Soviet Union's border."

President Tito, in a statement over Radio Belgrade on the occasion of United Nations Day, refers to both the Sino-Indian border conflict and the developments in the Caribbean, and warns that "one-sided actions might bring world peace into conflict." He declares: "A way out of this situation can be found only by seeking a solution by peaceful means and not by replying by force. We hold that the United Nations offers the most suitable and the only way to find a corresponding settlement in the spirit of the charter of this organization."

IV. NONCOMMUNIST COUNTRIES

A: Latin America

Argentina: Opinions expressed uniformly support the U.S. position. A "Note of the Day" broadcast in Spanish to North America immediately after Kennedy's address puts Argentina solidly in the Western camp, and this commitment is followed the next day by press and voice reports that the nation has decided that its navy will cooperate "for the defense of the continent against communism." A Lima AFP dispatch on reaction to this decision reports public astonishment and press support. It also says dollar quotations have declined on the Buenos Aires market. Press agencies tell of government measures to avoid public disturbances, but report no outbreaks.

Brazil: Reportage of President Kennedy's speech is immediate through use of Voice of America material, followed within two hours by full texts of the speech. The official position as reported on the air is apparently equivocal, supporting the OAS decision but opposing the use of armed force for this purpose. Opposition to the American stand is vocal and widely reported. Radio Nacional quotes Premier Hermas Lima as reasserting "the Brazilian position in favor of self-determination and free initiative for all states" before a group of demonstrators soon after Kennedy's speech. Lima AFP reports him as saying: "We Latin Americans have the duty to defend the right which Cuba has to carry out the political experiment which it is carrying out," and former Foreign Minister San Tiago Dantas is quoted as calling a naval blockade "not legally justified" and asking for U.N. verification of Kennedy's accusation against Cuba. Voice and press reports indicate serious doubt among the Brazilian people that Kennedy's accusation against Cuba is valid, and a practically universal determination to insist on exclusively peaceful methods of attacking the problem. On the other hand, according to TRANSPRESS the Brazilian armed forces stand ready to carry out the orders of the President, "especially in the case when a foreign nation furnishes weapons to a nation of the American continent."

Chile: After reporting the Kennedy speech at some length, but not in full text, Chilean stations tell of confused opinion about it throughout the country. Students and political circles, they say, are divided, but most labor organizations, particularly CUTCH, opposed the U.S. move. La Voz de Chile says commentators are "disoriented," while Radio Corporacion reports doubling of the guards at both the U.S. and Cuban embassies, but no disturbances. Anticipating official reaction, the minister of economy stated late 22 October, according to La Voz de Chile, that other markets can be found for Chilean products destined for Cuba. The official government statement on the crisis, broadcast the next day, commits Chile to support of "the mechanism of the security of the inter-American system," but avoids describing

measures to be taken. One commentator, who says the statement means practical suspension of Chilean-Cuban relations, notes that though Chilean public opinion is divided, the ideological war is only rhetorical and no incidents have been reported. On this day, however, other stations report several arrests. Voice broadcasts report the legislature, labor, and student organizations divided on the government's stand along political lines. While known anticommunist commentator Manuel Heliodoro Molina more than once supports the U.S. position and attacks Castro's "arrogance," a commentary aired by Radio Corporacion reports divided opinion in the nation on whether the arms in Cuba are offensive or meant solely for defense. Radio Mineria adds that many doubt that air photographs can determine the kind of missiles in Cuba, and reports expectation of a Soviet countermove against Berlin.

Colombia: While offering no original comment, monitored Colombian transmitters give prominent and extensive coverage to President Kennedy's speech and related events. The Voice of America relay of the speech is carried, and subsequent newscasts highlight the entire passage in the address dealing with the U.S. seven-point plan. Bogota radios headline the Colombian Government's statement reiterating its adherence to the Rio Treaty, and the government's orders calling for a full military and police alert. Also extensively carried are reports of expressions of support by all Colombian political parties--excepting the MRL--for Kennedy's Cuban arms quarantine order. News agency reports of the Cuban mobilization order, Radio Moscow's reaction to Kennedy's speech, and favorable Latin American and West European reaction to the quarantine order are also prominently carried.

According to Lima AFP, there were "persistent rumors" in Bogota, immediately after President Kennedy's address, of a plan to create disturbances in reaction to it. The following day, AFP reports the appearance in Bogota of placards supporting Cuba but declares the city calm as a result of government measures, though the citizens are "concerned" over the threat of Cuban rockets. Later in the day, reporting the government's adherence to its international commitments under the Rio Treaty and the OAS Charter, Lima AFP quotes EL TIEMPO as blaming the USSR for converting Cuba into a "Soviet territory."

Costa Rica: A Radio Monumental commentary praises Costa Rican President Orlich's quick action in expressing his country's solidarity with President Kennedy's action on Cuba. Another commentary by the same radio calls for unanimous public support for Orlich's decision "to place Costa Rica alongside the United States to share its destiny." Several Costa Rican radios carry the text of the President's speech. Reports on Orlich's speech in support of the U.S. action, the Cuban mobilization order, and the U.S. military buildup are headlined.

Also prominently carried are agency reports of favorable world reaction to Kennedy's speech, Radio Moscow's charge of the U.S. threat to world peace, and the OAS Council meeting and vote in support of the U.S. action.

Ecuador: Several Ecuadoran radios carry the text of the President's speech, while other monitored Quito newscasts carry extensive excerpts, stressing the passage on the seven-point plan. Newscasts report extensive comment in "varying tones" on President Kennedy's speech in Ecuadoran political and public sectors. The Ecuadoran Government spokesman's statement supporting President Kennedy's action is prominently featured. Also carried are agency reports on the U.S. request for a U.N. Security Council meeting, Secretary of State Rusk's statement to the OAS Council and the council vote, Radio Moscow's charge of U.S. war hysteria, the Cuban mobilization order, and both favorable and unfavorable world reaction to Kennedy's Cuban arms quarantine order. A Quito radio newscast reports an anti-U.S. demonstration in Quito conducted by a small group of leftists.

Guatemala: A Guatemala City radio commentary largely paraphrases President Ydigoras Fuentes' statement expressing solidarity with President Kennedy's measures regarding Cuba and declaring that Guatemalan troops are prepared to proceed to any point "to settle the issue with arms." The commentator adds that the "decisive" words of President Kennedy have begun to fill democratic and free Americans with "vibrant hope."

Mexico: Initial Mexican reaction to the Kennedy address comes in the form of a prompt, firm statement by President Lopez Mateos in Manila, reported by both REUTERS in Singapore and the Mexican radio, condemning Cuban possession of any aggressive arms. Lima AFP soon afterward reports Mexico City "in the grip of a war psychosis" as a result of widespread rumors during the conference of the inter-American Economic and Social Council there, and then, after the Kennedy address, in response to favorable reactions by Central American delegates. Later, Lima AFP reports everything quiet in Mexico, with no reactions from leftist elements. The Mexico radio gives full coverage to Soviet and Cuban reaction as well as to Free World moves and opinion.

Panama: President Kennedy's speech is carried in full by several Panama radios, while other monitored newscasts carry extensive excerpts stressing the passage on the U.S. seven-point plan. Panamanian newscasts also feature extensive reports on the U.S. military buildup in the Caribbean, the Cuban mobilization order, the Soviet military alert order, Secretary of State Rusk's statement and the OAS Council vote, and the U.S. request for a U.N. Security Council meeting. Also prominently reported are Panamanian Government and public statements of support for President Kennedy's action, as well as news agency reports of favorable world reaction to the President's quarantine order. A Carrasco commentary over RPC stresses the far-reaching significance of the President's speech because it reveals U.S. military opinion,

issues a firm warning, and backs words with action. An RPC commentary describes Kennedy's seven-point plan as a well-planned answer to communist aggression, adding that at long last the United States is learning that peaceful attempts are useless when dealing with the communists. A Radio Mia commentator, citing the danger of a missile attack on Panama and the Canal, calls on the Panamanian Government, as well as all hemispheric governments, to support President Kennedy's measures without delay.

Uruguay: A Melo radio commentary expresses praise and full support for the "vigorous decision" taken by President Kennedy in his "fervent desire" to defend America from Soviet imperialist aggression. Other monitored Uruguayan radios note the absence of official Uruguayan reaction to the President's speech. The Radio Espectador network carries President Kennedy's speech in full, while other Uruguayan transmitters feature extensive reports on the OAS Council vote, the Cuban mobilization order, the U.S. military buildup in the Caribbean, and the U.S. request for a U.N. Security Council meeting. Also carried are reports on expressions of concern over President Kennedy's speech in Uruguay and Bolivia, and expressions of support for the President's quarantine order from various Latin American countries.

Venezuela: There is no monitored comment from Venezuelan transmitters. However, coverage of President Kennedy's speech and related events is extensive and headlined. The President's speech is carried in full by a number of Venezuelan radios. Statements of Venezuelan Government support for the U.S. seven-point plan are prominently featured by various transmitters, as are reports on intense Venezuelan Cabinet activity and favorable European and Latin American reaction to the U.S. quarantine order. Also featured are reports on the Cuban mobilization order, the Radio Moscow charge of a U.S. threat to peace, the OAS Council vote, and the U.S. military buildup.

Other Countries: Honduran and Nicaraguan transmitters carry the Voice of America relay of President Kennedy's speech, while Bolivian, Paraguayan, and Peruvian radios carry extensive excerpts, including the entire passage dealing with the seven-point plan. Monitored newscasts from these countries also prominently feature news agency reports on the U.S. military buildup in the Caribbean, the American request for a U.N. Security Council session, the Cuban mobilization order, and initial Radio Moscow reaction to President Kennedy's speech. Dominican President Bonnelly, in a live speech carried by Radio Caribe, notes the "grave threat" the missile bases pose to all nations of America, and expresses satisfaction that the Council of State will participate "without reservation" in international bodies to contain this threat. There is no monitored reaction from Salvadoran transmitters. According to Lima AFP, President Kennedy's speech caused "great commotion" in Lima at first, but, AFP added, the people relaxed when they learned that nuclear war was not imminent. An AFP dispatch on 23 October reports without elaboration the possibility of disturbances in the Peruvian capital.

B. West Europe

Great Britain: Reportage on British acceptance of the Kennedy statements--both by shipping concerns and the government--on the wire services followed developments closely. Paris AFP noted that the British Cabinet met one hour earlier than usual to discuss the Cuba crisis and the consequences of the partial blockade. AFP also quoted a Foreign Office spokesman that the Soviet Union would have no right to take reprisals in Berlin for the partial blockade. The two matters are in no wise connected. AFP also noted the general atmosphere in London: the press shows anxiety, the stock exchange varies, a military announcement is expected, and the man in the street--perhaps thinking of Suez--does not hide his anxiety. British shipping, perhaps as much concerned as are governments, met and issued opinions and declarations. The Chamber of Maritime Shipping felt that the affair did not concern it any longer, but was a matter now relating to governments. But the fact remains, reported AFP, that 90 ships sailing under the British flag are presently trading with Cuba. AFP noted that the freight rates from the Black Sea to Cuba went up 50 percent following the boycott threat.

AFP reported later that sources close to the Foreign Office believe British vessels calling at Cuban ports will submit to U.S. inspection. As far as the government knows, no British ship chartered by communist countries was carrying offensive war material to Cuba. Soviet authorities would not entrust such cargo to ships of NATO countries. AFP reported the meeting of three Labor leaders with Lord Home and Macmillan, and Labor's emphasis on the need for close consultations between London and Washington in view of possible repercussions. A Lord Home statement, as quoted by AFP, notes deliberate Russian attempts to threaten the Caribbean--where there are two Commonwealth countries--and also South America.

The British editorial review is devoted entirely to the Cuban situation. The papers quoted give varied reactions to and suggestions for the latest Cuban moves. The TIMES believes Kennedy "was wise to define his objectives in strictly limited terms and it is of utmost importance that they remain limited. They are not to topple Castro or defeat communism, but to secure the elimination of the bases." The DAILY TELEGRAPH asks how the nuclear missile bases in Cuba constitute "an extra threat to America, which is already within range of Russian rockets." The Russians have long tolerated American bases in Turkey, it adds. Why cannot America do the same? The DAILY HERALD believes Britain should support the Canadian proposal of sending eight neutrals to inspect Cuba. The DAILY MIRROR believes Macmillan should fly to Washington to mediate; the DAILY EXPRESS believes Macmillan should stay home and let the United States make its own decisions; the DAILY SKETCH is also against Macmillan going to Washington--he should work behind the scenes for a peaceful settlement.

The DAILY MAIL says Britain should stand by America, but also should try to bridge the East-West gap. It is a great opportunity for British statesmanship. The GUARDIAN believes the whole move played into Khrushchev's hands, and the FINANCIAL TIMES sees the crisis remaining explosive for some time to come.

France: French reaction to the blockade announcement, while supporting the decision, is tinged with regret that France was not consulted before the move was made. Paris radio commentator Maurice Ferro characterizes Paris reaction as "solidarity, understanding, and vigilance, but a vigilance tinged with some uncertainty." Despite reaffirming Atlantic solidarity, he says, the heads of European diplomacy have shown a "certain amount of regret at not having been consulted" on this decision. This point is echoed in the Paris press, reviewed by Paris radio. In general, the reaction of the Paris papers is in relation to their political coloring. The communist L'HUMANITE thinks a "certain amount of bluff is involved" in the blockade announcement. LIBERATION feels this new crisis will not enhance U.S. prestige; that the United States, by persisting in attempts to make Cuba an American colony, "is dealing a blow to peace which could have fatal consequences."

COMBAT looks upon this latest Soviet-American "squabble" as part of a "dangerous" game which can solve nothing, a game taking place in a sick world. LES ECHOES states that the U.S. election issue factor cannot be ruled out in explaining this decision, and hopes that "more serious motives" are behind the U.S. action. FIGARO, however, discounts the election issue factor and attributes the U.S. decision to the need not to display any weakness in the face of Soviet activities in Cuba. Commentator Ferro feels the solution to the current crisis can only be reached by a summit conference, a four-man conference: Kennedy, Khrushchev, Macmillan, and de Gaulle.

Italy: Premier Fanfani, according to Rome radio, has told the Senate that Italy will stand by the United States and its allies. (Although the Rome papers have commented on the decision, reception has been too poor for processing--Ed.)

Scandinavia: The Scandinavian countries, while expressing anxiety over the situation, are hopefully optimistic that a solution can be found. Copenhagen radio, in reporting the Danish foreign minister's support of the U.S. action, notes only that Norwegian Foreign Minister Lange feels the situation "gives cause for anxiety." Stockholm radio announces that at present there is "no need for a decision to be taken by Sweden." Helsinki radio has not indicated any official attitude, but a commentary on the Helsinki domestic service states that the latest U.S. move "comes as no surprise" in view of Cuban-American

relations. The commentary is optimistic in its outlook, stating that it is "improbable that the crisis will rapidly lead to any far-reaching and grave consequences, such as World War III." Copenhagen radio reports that Foreign Minister Haekkerup has emphasized that while the situation is serious, it "does not give rise to a feeling of panic."

Switzerland: The Swiss press, reviewed by DPA, stresses the "great risk" President Kennedy has assumed. The JOURNAL DE GENEVE observes that the President's speech was in response to the "Pearl Harbor complex" in the United States. BASLER NACHRICHTEN says that the measures taken by the United States have been chosen carefully and are within the framework of the U.N. Charter. The paper concludes hopefully that the rapid action on various diplomatic levels to meet the crisis allows the "assumption that the threatening conflict can be brought under control."

Benelux: The Belgian Government's reaction to the blockade, according to Brussels radio, has so far been limited to "understanding" the U.S. move. The radio quotes Deputy Foreign Minister Fayat as saying that the government does not yet have all the facts at its disposal. Senate Speaker Struye, the radio adds, feels there is no legal basis whatsoever for the U.S. move, and that the United States is trying to "force a unilateral decision upon its NATO allies." Hilversum radio reports that although the Dutch Government "fully recognizes" the U.S. situation, the Cabinet will not make a "hasty and possibly premature answer" until all the facts are at its disposal.

Sweden: The first reaction of the Swedish press to the U.S. President's speech, according to Stockholm radio, is that the President is facing an "extremely difficult decision if the action taken by him endangers world peace." The papers agree that tension between East and West and the threat of a world war has been increased, but differ as to how strongly the Soviet Union will react to the American "challenge." Criticism of the United States move comes from the STOCKHOLMS-TIDNINGEN, which wonders "if it is true" that offensive Soviet bases are in Cuba and warns that "you cannot exterminate" the ideas of the Castro revolution with "blockades and threats of violence." Also critical is EXPRESSEN, which says regarding the United States action: "It is becoming difficult to explain the action, and it will become impossible to defend it." AFTONBLADET sees "moderation" in the President's move and points out that it is directed only against offensive weapons. Radio Stockholm says in a commentary that the Soviet arms deliveries represented a severe threat to the United States.

West Germany: The immediate reaction of the West German Government and press to the announced Cuban blockade is one of unqualified support. Speaking to the CDU-CSU Lower House Parliamentary Group, Chancellor Adenauer stressed the "absolute necessity" of supporting the United States now, according to the West German DPA news agency. Other German leaders also firmly support President Kennedy's stand, DPA adds. CDU-CSU Lower House Chairman Von Brentano terms the President's speech a "gallant appeal," while West Berlin Mayor Brandt looks upon the President's decision as "grave, courageous, resolute, and moderate." The SPD press service calls the decision "one of the most important events of recent times, which may have far-reaching repercussions on world politics." The FDP is concerned over a possible Soviet miscalculation in reaction to the blockade announcement. The first FDP comment on the President's speech, according to DPA, was: "We are at the brink of war." Nevertheless, the agency adds, President Kennedy's reassurances that any possible Soviet move against West Berlin would be met "with the requisite means" has had a "reassuring effect" on Berliners. The U.S. Government's firm attitude over Berlin, DPA states, is one of the main reasons behind Bonn's decision to "stand unreservedly beside the United States."

Typical of the strong support given by many West German commentators is the view of the independent Hamburg newspaper DIE WELT that "America shows that the time for being pushed around is over," and adds that this is not only true for Cuba but "also for Berlin." A note of caution is sounded by FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU which says that U.S. attempts to correct the situation in Cuba can be undertaken "only with caution" and points out that the United States "can no more eliminate a Soviet listening post in Cuba without the risk of a worldwide catastrophe than can the Soviets incorporate West Berlin into their sphere of interest without unleashing a world war."

Austria: The Austrian press gives top play to the speech, though coverage is somewhat impaired by the fact that it came in after the deadline of most 23 October papers, so that some of them inserted relatively short reports in late editions while the papers of 24 October devote much of their space to international and notably Moscow reaction reports. Headlines on 23 October generally highlight the blockade announcement but there are also references to a "test of strength" between Kennedy and Khrushchev and to a possible Eastern retaliation in Berlin. The 24 October headlines stress that a worldwide crisis has been touched off by the Cuba blockade, some playing up Moscow's warning that the "blockade against Cuba unleashes world war," as the independent EXPRESS puts it in its banner headline.

There is very extensive editorial comment in the noncommunist press, whose general tenor, if any, is that the development is regrettable but was probably unavoidable and that the world can only hope that the worst can yet be avoided by cool-headedness on both sides. The independent KURIER says it would have been easier for the United States to launch a direct attack against Cuba, since this presumably would have been over quickly and without direct hostilities against the USSR, but the United States would then have been branded as an imperialist aggressor and for this reason he attempted to take the honest, though possibly riskier way of a blockade which, however, might lead to direct U.S.-Soviet hostilities.

Several papers, notably the socialist ARBEITER-ZEITUNG and the coalition NEUES OESTERREICH, hold the current U.S. election campaign and the sharp Republican criticism of the Kennedy administration's softness against communism partly or wholly responsible for the President's action. ARBEITER-ZEITUNG argues that it is difficult to see why America, which itself has rocket bases abroad and knows that Soviet rocketry is sufficiently developed to hit U.S. territory even without such bases, should feel so much threatened as to resort to a blockade if it were not for psychological factors, and regrets that Castro was driven into the arms of the Soviets by a wrong U.S. policy toward Cuba in earlier stages. NEUES OESTERREICH doubts the genuineness of the "evidence" of Soviet rockets on Cuba, particularly since it was procured by the U.S. intelligence service, which is not beyond the suspicion of fabricating such evidence, and denies that Cuba could constitute a genuine military threat to the United States. It believes that the Soviet Cuba policy was prompted by political rather than military considerations and that the arms deliveries were merely the bait for a trap deliberately set by the Soviets. Several other papers stake cautious hopes on U.S. firmness and courage.

The communist VOLKSSTIMME runs the headline "Peace Must Be Saved Against U.S. Aggression," and plays up Communist Party Central Secretary Fuernberg's statement that now the time has come when Austria's neutrality policy will be put to the test and that it is the Government's duty to comply fully with neutrality in this international crisis.

C. Asia and the Far East

Japan: President Kennedy's announcement of the U.S. blockade on arms to Cuba is given prompt and wide attention by the Japanese press and radio-TV, which describe the Cuban situation as "deplorable" and "fraught with serious danger." A number of newspapers take a critical view, labeling his decision as "shocking," "too abrupt," and "unexpected," and none of the papers express full support of the U.S. blockade of Cuba.

Tokyo broadcasts in Russian and English note that government and opposition parties are calling for a peaceful settlement of the Cuban problem. The Foreign Ministry, while "deeply regretting the course of events," notes that the United States was "forced" to take action.

Radio-TV newscasts give top prominence to the Kennedy announcement showing a still photograph of the President on the screen while carrying a transcribed broadcast of the President's speech. In reporting the highlights of the speech, emphasis is laid on the strong stand taken by the President because he could "no longer bear to put up with" the introduction of offensive weapons into Cuba, and on Kennedy's call to Khrushchev to eliminate this provocative threat.

Banner headlines stress "Kennedy Orders Arms Blockade on Cuba," "Missile Base Confirmed, Will Not Avoid Full Retaliation," "Kennedy Shows Resolute Determination, Will Retaliate Against Soviet Union If Attacked," "Kennedy Asks Soviet Union To Stop Provocations," "U.S. and Soviet Union in Danger of Showdown," and "U.S. President Takes Risky Action." ASAHI editorially terms the Cuban situation "truly grave" and warns that these sudden new emergency measures "involve a dreadful danger." It adds: "It is our belief, however, that even if there were such dangerous excesses by Soviet Russia and Cuba, it would not give the United States justification for engaging in the same kind of dangerous excesses." The paper urges the United States to reexamine its present "extremely dangerous, forceful policy." An ASAHI commentator calls President Kennedy's decision to blockade Cuba as "a risky action," and observes that the Caribbean area is now in a "touch-and-go situation."

War clouds are building up over Cuba, observes YOMIURI, which adds that an exchange of fire between U.S. and Russian ships could provoke Russia into retaliating by blockading Berlin, and this in turn could make a world war unavoidable. The YOMIURI editorial also notes that a threat to sink foreign shipping in time of peace is the "height of emotional extravagance." MAINICHI carries a more strongly worded editorial which says: "Cuba is an independent and sovereign country, and therefore the United States cannot interfere no matter what economic or political policies Cuba may take or from whom it receives economic or military assistance." The paper editorially urges the United States to act prudently, adding: "If the impression spreads that the United States is trying, on the basis of its vast military power, to enforce its will on another country, the repercussions will not be to America's advantage."

A statement by the Japan Communist Party Central Committee carried in 24 October AKAHATA charges the United States with resorting to open military action against Cuba, "which means to the world that they will start a war unless the world obeys the groundless and illegal U.S. decision," and calls upon all peace-loving people the world over "not to yield to the imperialists' intimidation" and "rise up . . . to smash the ambitions of the war incendiaries." Noting in conclusion that Kennedy has asked Japan to support his policy, the statement declares that "we will never allow the Ikeda Cabinet to participate in Kennedy's war-incendiarism."

South Korea: Radio Seoul's treatment has been the most voluminous of the Far Eastern free world transmitters. The Seoul domestic service has devoted most of its newscast time to developments. Commenting on 23 October that President Kennedy is making every effort "to solve the crisis diplomatically in order not to plunge the world into war," and reporting later the same day on expressions of support from U.S. allies and from OAS member nations, Seoul radio on 23 October reported the statement by ROK Ambassador to the United States Chong Il-kwon backing President Kennedy's stand and asserting that "had these measures been delayed, the situation would have grown more serious, not only for the United States, but for the entire free world." Later, Seoul carries SCNR Chairman Pak Chong-hui's statement that "the United States has resolutely initiated the action necessary to crush communist aggression in Cuba," and his affirmation of South Korean readiness to "render every possible support" to free world efforts to crush communist aggression, "not only in Cuba, but anywhere in the world."

India: Indian reportage has climbed from a position subordinate to material on the Chinese border conflict on 23 October to top position on newscasts on the evening of 24 October. The reports are short and factual, summarizing President Kennedy's speech, reporting U.S. military measures, noting Cuba's denunciation of the blockade and complaint to the United Nations, and briefly reporting the statements in the U.N. Security Council by Zorin, Stevenson, and the Cuban delegate. In its first top-position report, on 24 October, Delhi radio notes the nonaligned nations' appeal to the major powers to avoid any action endangering world peace, Castro's speech denouncing the U.S. naval blockade as a violation of international law, and U.S. Defense Secretary McNamara's statement to newsmen that the 25 Soviet ships moving toward Cuba will be challenged by U.S. naval units and fired upon if they ignore search orders. The radio also carries news of anti-U.S. demonstrations in front of the U.S. Embassy in London and the BBC political correspondent's view that Britain is not committed to any military action over Cuba as the U.S. action is a unilateral one. There is no comment.

Pakistan: Karachi radio from the beginning has led off its newscasts with detailed news reports on Cuban developments, reporting details of the President's speech, reaction in Havana and the Western capitals, the 40-nation appeal for a meeting between Kennedy and Khrushchev to ease the situation, the gist of the Soviet, U.S., and Cuban U.N. delegates' speeches, and Defense Secretary McNamara's announcement that the 25 Soviet ships approaching Cuba will be subjected to search.

Indonesia: Radio Djakarta has carried full reports on developments, although in a subordinate position on newscasts. It gave a factual summary of the President's statement on a 22 October evening newscast, reported that Rusk had met with Dobrinin, reported the U.S. military measures and Cuban mobilization, and noted expressions of support of the U.S. step from Canada and the Cuban Foreign Ministry's denunciation of the President's announcement as "serving a propaganda role in connection with the U.S. elections."

Nationalist China: Early Taipei radio reaction is critical of the U.S. action in the Caribbean, complaining that the United States did not make its move soon enough and calling for direct military action against Cuba, which, according to a talk beamed in English by Taipei radio, "can reap no worse consequences" than the planned blockade. The talk predicts, however, that the move will "restore" U.S. prestige in Asia. CNA reports the Chinese Foreign Ministry as offering "full support" to the U.S. position, while commentaries in two leading Taiwan papers according to Taipei radio hail the U.S. move as a "demonstration of U.S. determination to halt Soviet armed expansion in Cuba."

Australia: Melbourne radio devotes most of its broadcast time to reviews of news agency reports on the situation and official commonwealth reaction, including Prime Minister Menzies' declaration of "strong support for the U.S. action against Cuba."

South Vietnam: Chinese editorials in the Saigon-Cholon area generally hail President Kennedy's action as decisive and forceful. VAN KUO JIH PAO, however, states that the USSR "is aware of the fact that the United States will not dare intervene by force," adding that "once it completes the construction of missile sites in Cuba, it will be too late for the United States to intervene."

Philippines: Manila accords the situation very thorough worldwide coverage, including lengthy quotes from TASS, but offers no comment.

Singapore and Malaya: Singapore REUTERS provides prompt and thorough coverage of the speech and consequent related events. On 23 October, it transmits a review of a Singapore STRAITS TIMES editorial which declares that "Cuba has become the American Suez and Mr. Kennedy the American Eden," and points out that the Soviet Union holds West Berlin hostage for Cuba's safety. A Kuala Lumpur voicecast devotes half its time to a factual review of developments in the Caribbean.

D. Middle East and Africa

UAR: Though it is extremely rare for non-Arab topics to occupy a very considerable space in Cairo radio's morning press review, the entire review of 24 October is devoted to the Cuban situation. AL-AKHBAR, as reviewed by the radio, says that never before in recent times has the world seemed so close to war. The paper notes that the UAR has always fought military alliances and economic blockades because it itself has suffered from such measures. The present situation is caused entirely by the existence of military bases and alliances, the paper says, but the great powers have no right to impose their will by force on anyone. The United Nations Charter should be the guideline in settling disputes, the paper concludes. The radio then reviews a similar article in AL-JUMHURIYAH and concludes with an AL-JUMHURIYAH article by Nasir ad-Din an-Nashahsibi which charges that Kennedy's reasons for the quarantine measure were inadequate and that the people should have their say in deciding what is for them a life or death matter.

An article by AL-AHRAM's chief editor Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal transmitted by the MIDDLE EAST NEWS AGENCY says that a large group in the United States which was not satisfied by the results of the Bay of Pigs invasion has been demanding overt military action against Cuba and "was able to create in America a strong anti-Castro trend which in the end even imagined that Cuba had become a Soviet atomic weapons arsenal in the middle of the Caribbean." Haykal questions the need of the Soviet Union for such a missile base when it has on USSR territory missiles which can hit any spot on earth.

MENA reports that "political departments in Cairo" comment that "the violent threats exchanged over Cuba call upon all those eager to preserve world peace to confront the explosive situation in a positive manner which will prevent the crisis from developing to the point where war will erupt." The departments, says MENA, added that the "policy of military bases and the imposition of blockades are intensifying international tension." They ask why the big powers do not agree on the "neutrality of states over which disputes develop, as happened with respect to Austria in 1955." Mena carries a statement issued by the Palestinian Students General Federation denouncing the "aggressive U.S. attempts directed against Cuba" and asserting that the U.S. attitude on the subject "confirms that the United States is continuing its aggressive policy against the people." The agency carries a statement by the Cuban ambassador to the UAR which accuses "the United States of preparing to launch an armed attack against Cuba." The ambassador warns that "such an aggression will lead to World War III and the ultimate destruction of the United States itself."

According to MENA, former Jordanian Foreign Minister Abdullah ar-Rimawi stated in Cairo that the United States economic blockade against Cuba constitutes a challenge to international relations and to the right of states to navigate freely on the high seas. Ar-Rimawi also reportedly said that all people aspiring for the freedom to rebuild their lives condemn the American President's attitude and the aggressive policy which he declared in his statement. MENA also carries statements by Algerian Information Minister Mohamed Hadj-Ramou, the Secretary General of the People's Forces National Union in Morocco, the Sudanese Chief Delegate to the United Nations, and Yemeni Foreign Minister Muhsin al-Ayni expressing support for Cuba.

Syria: The Damascus radio press review for 24 October is devoted entirely to the Cuban situation. AN-NASR, as reviewed by the radio, says Kennedy's quarantine measure is an unprecedentedly grave step in the history of the cold war, one which may not lead directly to war but which has increased the danger of nuclear war. The paper says that "when America objects to the establishment of a hostile military base in its vicinity at the same time it, itself, has set up military bases along the borders of its opponents' territory, we cannot see that it has any right to this objection." The article asserts that the Arab people object to any step which may prejudice Cuba's national sovereignty and doubts that the United States will frighten the Soviet Union with its recent measures. AS SADA AL-AAM, also reviewed, questions the validity of Kennedy's arguments for the imposition of the quarantine when each side has long-range missiles capable of destroying the other. The paper says it is difficult to imagine that war will not break out and that the only hope for world peace is that both sides are aware that World War III means destruction for all.

Iraq: Of the four editorials cited by Baghdad radio's press review for 24 October, only one deals with the Cuban situation. AL-MUSTAQBAL, as reported by the radio, questions why the United States, on United Nations Day, should violate the United Nations Charter. Asserting that the United Nations today faces a serious test, it urges that the liberated and anti-imperialist member states of the United Nations, which constitute a United Nations majority, are "capable of checking the American imperialists and turning the latter's slyness against them."

Israel: Israel radio carries extensive factual reportage and a talk, by the radio's correspondent in the United States, which indicates that the United States has not been so close to war since Korea and that a clash may occur within hours--when Soviet ships encounter American patrol units. The talk concludes that peace is now in the balance.

Greece: A commentary by Kostas Zafiropoulos carried by Athens radio says that for reasons of security, but also for reasons of prestige, the United States could not accept the organization in Cuba of an aggressive and dangerous situation which would place world peace in direct danger. It was in response to a serious threat to the American continent and world peace that the leading power of the free world adopted its decision. "This is the most critical phase of world tension in many years," the commentator asserts, adding that humanity believes the Security Council will find some way to avert the crisis once again. This is to be hoped for, he says, because the present case is one which is decisive as regards the survival of man on this planet.

Iran: Teheran radio carries foreign newscasts devoted entirely to the Cuban question, and reports in a Paris "Topic of the Day" that the President's speech "was received with awe and amazement," shifting world attention from the Himalaya's to the Caribbean.

Turkey: Ankara radio reviews President Kennedy's speech, Cuba's announced mobilization, and Stevenson's memorandum to Zorin requesting the removal of missile bases from Cuba, and announces that the Turkish cabinet has met to discuss the Cuban situation. It notes that the decision to establish a quarantine on shipments to Cuba was greeted with satisfaction in all America and that the OAS had endorsed the decision. The radio only briefly notes that the USSR had asked for an immediate meeting of the Security Council and does not report the Soviet warning to America.

Cyprus: Both the Turkish and Greek domestic services of Nicosia radio, averaging five minutes per newscast, give first place to the President's speech, note initial favorable support for the United States in Britain and Canada, the Cuban mobilization, and promptly report the Soviet warning to America. Both transmitters also note that the United States is already taking measures for the naval blockade of Cuba, while a late Nicosia Greek broadcast reports on the Soviet reaction and measures taken by the Soviet Government in placing all armed forces on an alert status.

Africa: According to Algiers radio, the National Liberation Front's EL CHAAB declares in an editorial on 24 October that Cuban independence is being "gravely threatened" by the United States in an "attempt to turn the small nation from the course of socialism that it has freely chosen." "In this trial, the editorial says, "the Algerian people stand alongside the Cuban people, to whom they are bound by solidarity forged in the difficult years of the liberation war." The editorial calls upon all countries anxious to prevent the catastrophe of an international conflict to "use all their power to check aggression against Cuba and bring the United States and its allies to respect the principles of the U.N. Charter."

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Monitored radios of French-speaking West African states give headline prominence and extensive news time to President Kennedy's speech and other developments in the Cuban situation. Summaries of the President's speech average five minutes in length and radios devote in many cases well over half their news time to developments, citing without marked differences in emphasis both Western and Cuban or USSR statements and reaction. Conakry carries a summary of the latest developments prefaced by the remark that the Cuban affair is assuming fantastic proportions and expressing doubt whether the U.N. Security Council session will produce any result in view of the veto power of the two major protagonists. The Upper Volta radio of Ouagadougou opens a news report by asking: "Will there be nuclear war over Cuba." Accra fails to mention the crisis in morning domestic newscasts on 23 October and later gives only a brief report starting with the Cuban mobilization order and then the President's charge of Soviet missile sites.

Accra reports prominently the Soviet protest to the United States on the blockade and notes protest demonstrations in London, then giving other Western reaction. Lagos devotes little news time to the topic after carrying a three-minute summary of President Kennedy's speech in the morning of 23 October.

An Accra radio talk sees the United States' expressed "fear of little Cuba just an excuse for a second attempt at destroying it" on the "flimsiest of pretexts," and suggests that President Kennedy may be a "reluctant hero" goaded into precipitous action by the same voice which prompted the Bay of Pigs invasion or the action may have been taken with an eye on the November elections. The talk concludes that this should be "an object lesson for smaller countries" and hopes that wiser counsel will prevail before it is too late. An article in the pro-NCNC paper DAILY TELEGRAPH, reviewed by Lagos radio, attributes the threatening situations all over the world to the Soviet Union and concludes that unless there is an immediate change of heart it sees little chance for peace.